Locky on American Bemorracy,

SOME NEW BOOKS.

In the two volumes collectively entitled De nocra: y and Liberty (Longmans, Green & Co.), Mr. W. E. H. LECKY has turned from the history of the past to the history of the present. book before us deals with a large number of questions, some of which lie in the very centre of English party controversies. The author had intended, he tells us, to introduce it with a few remarks on the advantage of such topics being occasionally dis-cussed by writers who are wholly unconnected with practical politics, and who might, therefore, bring to them a more independent judgment than could be easily formed by active politicians. Such a preface can no longer be written by Mr. Lecky, for the reason that, since the greater portion of his book was placed in the printer's hands, he has become a member of Parliament for Trinity College, Dubim. He has not allowed the change in his position, however, to alter the character of his book, having refrained even from cancelling a passage in defence of university representation, which was composed at a time when the author had no idea that it could possibly be regarded as a defence of his own attitude.

The ultimate conclusion to which the author has been brought by his observations is that modern democracy is in many particulars unfavorable to liberty, and that a reaction from a representative system based on universal suffrage is desirable, if not probable. Among the topics discussed in the course of the two volumes are the form and operation of democratic French republic, the parliamentary institutions of unified Italy and of unified Germany, the utility of second chambers in general and of the House of Lords in particular, the Irish land question and other assaults upon the principle of individual property, the labor question in Great Britain, Germany, Franco, and Belgium, the woman question and the laws of marriage and divorce, the relation of democracy to religion, and especially to Catholicism, and, finally, the application of law to the observance of the Sabbath, to gambling and the use of intoxicating drinks. In a book of such scope, it is impossible that the author should everywhere show equal familiarity with the data, and evince perfect accuracy with regard to matters of fact. There are some errors in his account of the working of American institutions, for which reason, and because the subject is obviously one of peculiar interest to ourselves, we confine ourselves, for the moment, to a survey of his remarks on the evolution and outcome of the American democ-

In the first chapter, which deals with the English Constitution of the eighteenth century, it is pointed out that the men who framed our own Constitution in 1787 had aims almost identical with those which had been kept in view by the English statesmen of the epoch. The frame work, of course, could not be the same, because the United States did not contain the material for founding a constitutional monarchy or a

powerful aristocracy, but although the mean be employed must needs be different, the inds contemplated were not diverse. To divide and restrict power; to secure property; to check the appetite for organic change; to guard individual liberty against the tyranny of the mul-titude, as well as against the tyranny of an indiridual or class; to infuse into American political life a spirit of continuity and of sober and moderate freedom, were the purposes which the American statesmen assembled at Philadelphia set before them, and which they, in a large measure, attained. They created, for instance an elective President, who, during his short period of office, was to possess an amount of power which was, on the whole, not less than George III, had exercised when, in 1783, he made William Pitt Prime Minister against the will of a large majority of the House of Commons. They invested the American Senate with powers considerably beyond those of the House of Lords. They restricted, by a clearly defined and written Constitution, the powers of the representative body, placing, among other things, the security of property, the sanctity of contract, and the chief forms of personal and religious liberty beyond the power of a mere parliamentary majority to infringe. They established, moreover Supreme Court, with the right eventually arrogated, if not expressly conferred, of interpret. ing authoritatively the Constitution, and declar ing acts of Congress which exceed the powers delegated by that instrument to be null and void; they checked, or at least tried to check, the violent oscillations of popular suffrage, by introducing largely into the Constitution the rinciple of double elections, as in the method choosing Senators and Presidents; and finally, they made such large majorities necesenactment of any organic change that such a change became impossible, except where there was an overwhelming agreement of public opinion in its favor.

In dealing with the suffrage the authors of our Federal Constitution acted in the same spirit. A proposal to establish a uniform sysbrought before the Philadelphia Convention, but, after full discussion, it was resolved to leave the existing diversities untouched, and to confide to each State the power of regulating as it pleased the system of suffrage. All that the Convention established was that the electors for the House of Representatives should, in each State, have the qualification requisite for the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature. Mr. Lecky is one of the few Englishmen who know that, as a matter of fact, for many years after the adoption of our Federal Constitution, property qualifications were required in most States for voters, and a diversity in the system of elections prevailed which was little, if at all, less than in England For everal of the State Legislatures, though not for the Federal Legislature, a property qualifica tion was required in representatives.

In a subsequent attempt to describe the work ings of American democracy, which in practic has undoubtedly diverged materially from the ideal of its founders, though not so widely as the English democracy has diverged from the lines within which it moved in the last century, Mr. Lecky begins by noting a mistake commonly made by English political writers of the las generation. The mistake arose from their very superficial knowledge of American Institutions which led them to believe that the American Government was generically of the same kind as the Government of England, the chief difference being that, in the United States, a majorky of the people could always carry out their will with more prompt, decisive, and un restrained efficiency. This notion is, of course, radically faise. In England, a simple majority of Parliament is capable, with the assent of the Crown, of carrying out any constitution change, however revolutionary, and, in practice, the House of Commons has absorbed the main power in the Constitution. A chance maority formed out of many different politica factions, acting from different motives, and with different objects, may change funda mentally the Constitution of the country The royal veto has become wholly obso i.e. The royal power, under all normal circumstances, is exercised at the dictation of a Ministry which owes its being to the majurity of the House of Commons, and, if the Crown may even now exert some independent political influence, it can only be in rare and exceptional circumstances, or in indirect and subordinate ways. The House of Lords has, it is true, greater power than has the Crown, and can still, as occurred in the case of the seconf Home Rule bill, delay by a suspensive veto great changes, until they are directly sanctioned by the constituencies at an election. But Mo

were obtained. Mr. Lecky is one of the three Englishmen, the other two being Prof. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Bryce, who comprehend how widely different is the position of the American House of Repre-

Locky, though no Hadical, deems it scarcely

possible that, after such sanction, such changes

should be resisted, however narrow may be the

majority in their favor, or however doubtful

may be the motive by which these majorities

entatives from that of the House of Commons The former is a body in which the Ministers do not sit, and which has no power of making testroying the Ministry. It is confronted by a Senate which does not rest on the democratic basis of mere numbers, but which can exercise a much more real restraining power than the House of Lords. It is confronted, also, by a President who is himself chosen ultimately by manhood suffrage, but in a different way from the House of Representatives, and who exercises an independent power vastly greater than is that of the contemporary British sovereign. It is, above all, restricted by a written Constitution under the protection of a great independent law court, which makes it impossible for Congress to vio-late contracts or to infringe any fundamental liberty of the people or to carry any constitutional change, except when there is the amplest evidence that it is the clear, settled wish of an overwhelming majority of the people. As is well known to us, no amendment of the Federal Constitution can be even proposed, except by the votes of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, or by an application from the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States. Nor can any proposed amendment of the Federal Conattitution become law unless it is ratified in three-quarters of the States by both Houses in the local Legislature, or by Conventions specially summoned for the purpose. In the State Constitutions of the different States changes may be effected in a different way, but never by a settled majority of a single Legislature. In a few States, it is true, such a majority may propose such an amendment, but it always requires ratification, either by a popular vote or by a subsequent Legislature, or by both. In most States majorities of two-thirds or three-fifth, are required for the simple proposal of a constitutional amendment, and, in a large number of cases, majorities of three-fifths or two-thirds or three-quarters are required for the ratification. Mr. Locky, however, does not lose sight of the fact that s second method is usually provided for revising or amending a State Constitution by means o a Convention which is specially called for this purpose, and which proposes changes that must be subsequently ratified by a popular vote.

HIN. Considering all these precautions and restric tions, the author of these volumes recognizes

that the American Constitution was framed by

of the dangers of democracy. The school of

nen who, for the most part, had a strong sense

American thought which was represented, in a great degree, by Washington and John Adams, and still more emphatically by Gouverneur Morris and Alexander Hamilton; which in spired the Federalist, and was embodied in the Federalist party, was utterly opposed to the schools of Rousseau, or Paine, and even of Jefferson, and it has largely guided American policy to the present day. It did not prevent America from becoming a democracy, for Jef-ferson's hour was to come; but it framed a form of government under which the power of the democracy was broken and divided, confined to a much smaller sphere, and attended with what our author deems less disastrous results than in most European countries. The chief steps by which the Federal Government of the United States has moved in the direction of democracy are outlined by Mr. Lecky. directs attention, in the first place, to the obvious fact that, although the Constitution realizes in most respects the anticipations of ts founders, their attempt to place the President outside the play of party spirit, and to make him independent of democratic dictation, signally failed. The Constitution number of Presidential electors equal to its depresentatives and Senators in Congress, and that these men should be intrusted with the task of electing the President. It was left to the different States to determine the manner of election and the qualifications of these Presidential electors; but it was enacted that member of Congress and no holder of a Federal office should be eligible. In this manner it was hoped that the President might be elected by the independent votes of a small body of worthy citizens who were not deeply plunged in party politics. But, as the spirit of party became intensified and the great party organization tions attained their maturity, the system came to naught. Presidential electors, indeed, are still elected, but they are chosen under a distinct pledge that they will vote for a particular candidate. At first they were nearly everywhere chosen on party grounds by the State Legislatures. Soon this process appeared insufficiently democratic, and they were chosen by direct manhood suffrage their sole duty being to nominate the candi date who had been selected by the party ma chine. In the Senatorial elections, on the other hand, the principle of double elections has proved more enduring, nor can it be, indeed, fundamentally changed without a constitutional amendment. Even here, however, considerable transformations have taken place. For a long time the mode of the election of Senators varied greatly. In some States they were chosen by the Legislatures rive roce; in others, by bal lot; in some, by a separate vote of each House; in others, by both Houses meeting and voting as one body. By an act of 1800, the method of election has been made uniform, the Senators being nominated by a rive were vote in each House, and if the result is not obtained in this manner, by a vote of the two Houses sitting together. These are party elections, and Mr. Lecky would not dispute that they are properly so. But he notes that of late years Senators are rarely what they were intended to be the independent choice of the State Legislature. The machines, or, in other words, the organizations representing the rival parties in each State, not only return the mem bers of the State Legislature, but also designat the rival candidates for the Senatorships; and the members of the State Legislature are in man cases elected under strict pledges to vote for these designated candidates. To be sure, the ser vitude is not as absolute or universal as that under which the Presidential elections took place but it has gone far to bring the selection of Senators under the direct control of those knots o vire-pullers who rule all the fields of American

politics, and manage universal suffrage. IV.

As for the many restrictions on the suffrage by which the members of the House of Repre entatives were elected at the time when the Constitution was adopted, these have nearly all passed away, and America has all but reached the point of simple manhood suffrage. Mary land, in the first decade of the nineteenth cen tury, led the way, and the example was speeding followed. The management, limitation, and extension of the suffrage being left within the almost complete competence of the several States, have formed the field in which revolutionary change could be most easily effected. The suffrage, it is true, is not even now abso lutely universal. Hesides the exclusion of women, children, criminals, insane persons, and unnaturalized immigrants, some easy qualifications of residence and registration are usually required; but property qualifications have al-most wholly disappeared. A tax qualification existed in 1880 in six States, but it has since then been abolished in four of them. Some States, however, still exclude from the right of soting those who are so illiterate that they are not able to read, and paupers who are actually supported by the State. With these slight and partial exceptions manhood suffrage generally prevails. Mr. Lecky is undoubtedly right in udging that the widening of the suffrage has en brought about by much the same means in the United States as it has in Europe. It has not been, in general, the result of any spoutaneous demand, or of any real belief that it was likely to improve the working of the Federal or State Constitutions; it has sprung from a com petition for power and popularity between rival actions. An extension of the franchise is not urally a popular cry, and each party leader is, therefore, ready to raise it and anxious that his rivals should not monopolize it. It is a policy, oo, which requires no constructive ability, and is so simple that it lies within the competence of the vulgarest and most ignorant demagogue A party out of office and doubtful of its future prospects naturally wishes to change the char-

working of every part of the municipal admin-teration. He keeps the peace, ralls out the militia, enforces the law, and, in a word, deterthat new voters will vote, at all events the first time, for the party which gave them their vote. The system of popular election has extended all branches of American life. To mines, in all its main lines, the character of the Mr. Lecky it seems that the most mischievous olf Government. Touching the centralization application is to the judicial posts. The inde-pendence and dignity of the Federal Judges are, of responsibility in a country which, till rethe opposite system, Mr. Lacky quotes a re-mark made by Dr. Gilman in his "Socialism and the American Spirit": "The tendency is visibly strengthening in the United States to it is true, protected by an article of the Consti-President, with the consent of the Senate. But smong the States another method of composing the judicial body has spread. As recently as concentrate administrative powers in the hands 1830 the Judges in the different States owed of one man, and to hold mm responsible for its their appointment to the Governors, or to the State Legislatures, or to a combination of the wise and honest use. Diffusion of responsibility through a crowd of legislators has proved to be two. In 1878 in no less than twenty-four States they were elected by a popular vote. a deceptive method of securing the public wel-It is also true that they hold their office not for life, but for a term of years; VI. that they are capable of reflection, and that their salaries are comparatively small, Never-

theless, Mr. Lecky is not justified in asserting that the judicial body in most of our States is destitute of the moral dignity which attaches in England to all its branches. A passage which he quotes from Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth" does not warrant the deduction that personal corruption is common on the American beach. Mr. Bryce observes that "in a few States, perhaps six or seven in all, suspicion has, at one time or another within the last twenty years, attached to one or more of the superior Judges." He goes on to say that he knows of only one case in which such suspicions have been substantiated, though there can be little doubt that, in several in stances, improprieties have been committed. His belief is that the corrupt judges are only a small minority in a few States, and that there is no evidence that even the New York Judges. accused of connection with the Tweed Ring, did in ordinary commercial cases, where no political interest came into play, and where the influence of particular persons was not exerted, decide unjustly or take direct money bribes from one of the parties. As to the spolls system, to which Mr. Lecky devotes a number of pages, that has pretty nearly disappeared, so far as the Federal Administration is concerned, since the last civil service order was issued by Mr. Cleveland. erests of railroads and other wealthy corpora-Although the author of these volumes is op tions, and of bills altering the tariff on imports, on which a vast range of manufacturing

cosed to the ballot on abstract grounds, he admits that the alteration in the ballot system. which of late years has taken place in many of our States, is a signal improvement. Mr. Lecky's wn opinion is that, in any country where poli tics rest on a really sound and independent basis, by which is meant a basis other than universal suffrage, the ballot is essentially an evil Power in politics should never be dissociated from responsibility, and the object of the ballot is to make the elector absolutely irresponsible It obscures the moral weight of an election by naking it impossible to estimate the real force of opinion, knowledge, and character that is thrown on either side. It gives facilities for deception and fraud, for the play of and malignant motives and for sacerdotal influence. But while such are Mr. Lecky's objections to the ballot, he acknowledges that the task of a statesman is usually to elect the best alternative, and that, where intimidation or corruption is rife, the evils produced by secret voting may be less serious than those which it prevents. Formerly, however, in the United States, the ballot system secured no real secrecy, but seemed, and probably was ntended, to throw all electoral power into the hands of the machine. In the immense maority of cases, the votes of the electors were dictated by party agents, or known to them. Under the Australian ballot system, which has been adopted in thirty-five States, the State has taken the manufacture and distribution of ballot papers out of the hands of the different political parties, and has secured to the voter absolute secrecy and freedom from interference at the polling booth.

V. Mr. Lecky is mistaken in thinking that we owe to our Federal Constitution the power of electing Conventions, independent of the State Legislatures, for the purpose of effecting mendments in the State Constitutions. State 'onventions, of course, existed before the Federal Constitution was framed, but there is no doubt that they constitute, as the author of this book perceives, one of the most valuable features of our political system. Being specially elected for a single definite purpose, and for a very short time, and having none of the patronage and administrative powers that are vested in the Legislature, these Conventions, though the creatures of universa suffrage, have in a great degree escaped the influence of the machine, and represent the normal and genuine wishes of the community. They have, moreover, no power of enacting amendments; they can only propose them and submit them to a direct popular vote. It is well known that, by these means, restrictions have been imposed in many States upon forms of cor-ruption that had been widely practised in the guise of distributions of public funds in aid of charities connected with religious establishments and of exemptions from taxation granted to charitable institutions. In a few States some provision has been made to secure a representation of minorities, and, in many States, limitations have been imposed on the power of bor rowing and the power of taxing. There has been, of late years, as the au-thor notes, a strong tendency to multiply and elaborate in minute detail constitutional restrictions. Examples of this tendency are strikingly set forth in the passage quoted by Ir. Lecky from an essay by Mr. McMaster: 'It has become the fashion to set on the power of the Governors, of the Legislatures, of the courts; to command them to do this, to forbid them to do that; to remodel State Constitutions so as to make them more like a code of laws than an instrument of representative government. A distrust of the ser rants and representatives of the people is everywhere manifest. A long and bitter experien has convinced the people that legislators will roll up the State debt, unless positively forbidden go beyond a certain figure; that they will suffer railroads to parallel each other, corpore tions to consolidate, common carriers to discriminate, city Councils to sell valuable franthises to street-car companies and telephone companies, unless the State Constitution pressly declares that such things shall not be. io far has this system of prohibition been carried that many Legislatures are not allowed to enact any private or special legislation; are not allowed to relieve individuals or corporations from obligations to the State; are not allowed o pass a bill in which any member is interested or to loan the credit of the State, or to consider noney bills in the last hours of the seasion To these examples of restrictions cited by Mr McMaster, the author of this book adds the familiar fact that in the District of Columbia a still stronger measure has been adopted, and the whole municipal government has been placed in the hands of a Commission appointed

directly by Congress. An efficacious method of checking municipa corruption is the centralization of responsibility. Mr. Lecky is aware that recently we have had recourse to this expedient in the United States. There is no doubt that the multiplication of elective offices had, practically, the effect of diminishing popular control by confus ing issues, dividing and obscuring responsibility, weakening the moral significance of each election, and bewildering the ordinary elector. who could know little or nothing of the morits of the different candidates. In the end the chief power was thrown into the hands of a small knot of wire pullers. The system has accordingly, grown up among us of investing the Mayora of towns with an almost autocratic authority, and of making them in dividually responsible for the good government of their city. These Mayors are themselves elected by popular suffrage for periods ranging from one to five years; they are liable to impeachment if they abuse their functions; the State Legislature retains the right of giving or withholding supplies, and it can override the veto of the Mayor. The power vested in this functionary in some States, according to recent constitutional amendments, is far greater than the power delegated to the corresponding officer in European cities. With slight restrictions the Mayor appoints and can remove all the heads of all the city departments. He exercises the right of veto and supervision over all acter of the electorate, and its leaders calculate their proceedings. He is responsible for the

Mr. Lecky admits that corruption in the United States is certainly less prominent in the higher than in the lower spheres of government, though even in the former it appears to him to be far greater than in most European countries From this point of view he certainly should not compare the United States unfavorably with France, Italy, or Spain. He is candid enough to give the conclusions of Mr. Bryce, though it is suggested that the latter desired to imize the gravity and significance of the facts before him. By Mr. Bryce it was pointed out that no President has ever been seriously charged with pecuniary corruption, and there is no known instance, since the Presideney which immediately preceded the civil war, of a Cabinet Minister receiving a direct money bribe as the price executive act or an appointment. In the Federal Legislature both the Senators and members of the House of Representatives have labored under "abundant suspicions and abundant accusations," but few of these "have been, or could have been, sifted to the bottom." "The opportunities for private gain are large, the ances of detection small. All that can safely be said is that a certain clusive kind of personal dishonesty in the exercise of legislative powers prevails undoubtedly in the United States. It especially conspicuous in what would be called in England private bills, affecting the in-

interests depends. As regards bribery, it is onceded that sometimes the money given for this purpose does not go to the members of Congrese, but to the boss who is supposed to control them. Sometimes a lobbyist receives money to bribe an honest member, but, finding that the latter is going to vote in the way desired, keeps it in his own pocket. On the whole, Mr. Bryce is of the opinion that there is much prevalent exaggeration about American cor, uption, and that Europeans are very unduly shocked by it. This is partly the fault of Americans, who have "an airy way of talking about their own country" and love "broad effects." It is partly, also, attributed to the malevolence of European travellers, "who, generally belonging to the wealthier class, are generally reactionary in politics," and, therefore, not favorable to democratic government. Englishmen, in Mr. Bryce's opinion, are very unphilosophic. They have "a useful knack of forgetting their own shortcomings when contemplating those of their neighbors." "Derelictions of duty which a man thinks trivial in the form with which custom has made him familiar in his own country, where, perhaps, they are matter for merriment, shock him when they appear in a different form in another country. They get mixed up in his mind with venality, and are cited to prove that the country is corrupt and its politicians profligate." Senators are often charged with buying themselves into the Senate," but Mr. Bryce does not think that they often give direct bribes to the members of the State Legislature to vote for them. They only make large contributions to the party election fund, out of which the election expenses of the majority are defrayed. It is ich to Mr. Lecky's credit that he who is disposed to think evil of democracy should quote so much from Mr. Bryce. We may reproduce one more of these quotations: "Bribery exists in Congress, but is confined to a few members, say five per cent, of the whole number. The taking of other considerations than money, such as a share in a lucrative contract, or a railway pass, or a 'good thing,' to be secured for a friend, prevails among legislators to a somewhat larger extent. One may roughly conjecture that from 15 to 20 per cent, of the members of Congress or of an average State Legislature would allow themselves to be influenced by inducements of this kind. Jobbery of various kinds, that is, the misuse of a public sition for the benefit of individuals, is pretty frequent. It is often disguised as desire to render some service to the party; and the same excuse is sometimes found for the misappropriation of public money. Patronage is usually dispensed with a view to party considerations or to win personal support. But this remark is equally true of England and France

an uncertain tenure, are not in point of integrity, at this moment, sensibly inferior to the administrations of European countries. VII.

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Many of the causes of the vices of American government are deemed by Mr. Lecky to be inherent in democracy, but two aggravating causes are mentioned which he thinks removable. In his opinion the large salary attached to the position of Senator or Representative makes it an object of keen ambition to the professional politician. It is true that the members of each House have a salary of \$5,000 i year besides allowances for travelling expenses, stationery, and clerk hire. It is also true that this is a much larger stipend than is paid to the members of the popular branch of the Legislature in any other country, and that nobody has proposed to give members of the House of Com mons more than \$1,500 a year. We venture to say, nowever, that if Mr. Lecky were trying to live in Washington on a Representative's salary, he would find it difficult to save any money. Another aggravating cause of the vices of American government which Mr becky supposes to be removable is "the rule that the person elected to either House of Con gress must be a resident in the State for which he sits," a rule which "abridges greatly the choice of able and efficient men," the remarks which show how little Mr. Lecky comprehends the state of things in this country. It is simply inconceivable that one of our states would allow itself to be represented in the House of Representatives, much less in the senate, by the citizen of another State. It has been, indeed, from time to time, a matter of current gossip that one of the Senators from Ohio is practically a resident of the State of New York. As a matter of fact, the legal rest dence of the Senator in question has always

Mr. Lecky sees many things to criticise in the orkings of both our Federal and State politics. but in the end he acknowledges that, so far as national interests are concerned, an admirably written Constitution, enforced by a powerful and vigilant Supreme Court, has restricted to small limits the possibilities of misgovernment. All the rights that men value the most are placed beyond the reach of a tyrannical majori-Congress is debarred by the Constitution from making any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech and the press, or the right of assembly, or the right tition. No person can be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law All the main articles, in fine, of what British statesmen would regard as necessary liberties are guaranteed, and property is so fenced round constitutional provisions that confiscatory legislation becomes aimost impossible, recent judgment of the Supreme Coulls demning the income tax brought into clear relief the full force and meaning of these pro-visions. At the same time the number and magnitude of the majorities that are required

to effect any organic change in the Federal Constitution are so greet that such a change is almost impossible. In the State constitutions a like system of checks prevails. In the language of several of them, all men have "natural, essential, inalienable rights," and among them that of "enjoying and defending their lives and liberty and acquiring, possessing, and protecting property."
The Constitution of Alabama is cited as expressing admirably the best spirit of American tatesmanship when it states that "the sole and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and, when the government assumes other functions, it is usurpation and oppreslans," With such State Constitutions politicians may job and cheat and maladminster, but they can only do so within narrow limits, and, if the evils become too great, conventions are called which impose additional restrictions on the State Legislature.

VIII.

capacities, and inventions that are needed for industrial life, and bringing in its train widely diffused comfort, education, and self-respect; in certain aspects, however, it still seems to rank below the civilizations of Europe. Tocqueville and his generation were much impressed with this, and aithough Mr. Lecky admits that the United States have changed greatly, he thinks that one of the phenomena then noted is still observable. Tocqueville said that America had littherto produced only a very small number of remarkable writers, that had brought forth no great historians and no poets, and that there were third-rate towns in Europe which published in a year more works of literature than all the twenty-four States of America. Mill, writing in 1840, spoke of the marked absence in America of original efforts in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. while Carlyle, a few years later, declared that America had still her battle to fight; that, although the quantity of her cotten, dollars, industry, and resources was almost unspeak able, she had as yet produced no great thought or noble thing that one could worship or lovally admire; that her chief feat in history had been to beget, "with a rapidity beyond recorded example, eighteen millions of greatest bores ever seen in this world be-fore." This last judgment is obligingly described by Mr. Lecky as more remarkable for its vigor than for its indicial impartiality. He is good enough to concede that "since Carlyle wrote, America has produced some admirable literature; it has produced several considerable historians, some graceful and justly popular poets, some excellent critics, novelists, and mor alists, and a vein of humor which is, perhaps, more distinctively American than any other element in its literature. But," continues Mr. Lecky, "when all this is said, we cannot but ask whether the America of the nineteenth century has produced much in the fields of thought or literature or art that is really great; anything comparable to what Germany or France has produced during the same period; anything comparable to what might have been expected from a rich, highly educated, and pacific nation, which now numbers more than sixty millions of souls, and is placed in some respects in more favorable circum tances than any other nation of the world." After quoting a depreciatory remark by Renan, in which there is acknowledged to be much exaggeration, Mr. Lecky goes on to say: "It i impossible not to feel that on the intellectual and sesthetic side America has not yet fulfilled her part, and that an unduly large proportion of her greatest achievements belong to a time when she had not a tithe of her present population and wealth. Washington and Franklin and Hamilton, the Constitution of 1787, the Federalist, and the Commentaries of Judge Story have not been eclipsed."

Among the several causes assigned by Tocque ville. Mill, and others for the relative intellectual sterility of the United States, Mr. Lecky seems to concur with Maine in attributing e pecial influence to the long refusal on the part of Congress to grant an International copyright In Maine's opinion, the want of such copyright effectually crushed American authorship in the home market by the competition of the unpaid and appropriated work of British authors and condemned the whole American community to a literary servitude unparalleled in the his tory of thought." Mill, it is well known, described America as "intellectually speaking, a province of England," and Tocqueville said that there were no great American writers, because literary genius cannot exist without liberty of thought, and there is no liberty of thought in America." He denounced the despotism of opinion which, in the America of his day, preented all free expression of independent, ec centric, or heretical ideas. There has certainly been a change in this respect, and we are also much less inclined than we were formerly to accept slavishly English verdicts upon books. There is, however, in Mr. Lecky's opinion another cause of intellectual sterility from which we cannot so easily escape. He knows that intellectual fruitfulness was entirely compatible with the ancient and medieval types of lemocracy exemplified in Athensand Florence. But he contends that modern democracy is not favorable to the higher forms of in-tellectual life. "Democracy" it is pointed out "levels down quite as much as it levels up. The belief int he equality of man, the otal absence of the spirit of reverence, the apotheosis of the average judgment, the fever and the haste, the advertising and sensational spirit which American life so abundantly gen rates, and which the American press so vivilly reflects, are all little favorable to the production of great works of beauty or thought, of long meditation, of sober taste, of serious, uninterrupted study." It is not denied, however, that such works have been produced in Amerca, although in small numbers and under adverse conditions, and the belief is expressed nat, "in spite of all retarding influences America will one day occupy a far higher postion than at present in the intellectual guidance of the world. There are clear signs that a school of very serious scholarship and very excellent

At Hawarden With Gladstone, and Other

writing is arising among them."

Papers. We referred about a year ago to a charming ollection of essays, for the most part descriptive of English rural scenes and country life, and entitled "In the Land of Lorna Doone." From the same hand, that of Mr. WILLAM H. RIDE-ING, we now have a second series of papers called At Hawarden with Mr. Gladste other Transatiuntic Experiences (T. Y. Crowell & Co.). Annexed to the eponymous essay with which the little volume begins, we have read with particular interest the account of a visit to the old English town of Yarmouth, and the two papers respectively devoted to "Law, Lawyers, and Law Courts" and to the "The House of Commons." The author knows his England cell, and, in his observations, makes us feel the truth of Bacon's saying, that what a man earns in travel is but a dividend on the knowledge he takes with him. In descriptive writing, as in landscape painting, the instructed eye and the skilful hand are obviously ever more important than the intrinsic beauty of the thing depicted; indeed, Sheridan, in a wellknown paradox, maintained them to be the only things essential. Why should I, asked sheridan, go to Egypt, when, without going there. I can give you a far better idea of the sphinz, the pyramids, and the Theban temples than can nine-tenths of those who see them? This was manifestly the very reason why Sheridan should have gone to Egypt. The ideal thing is, of course, to have men and places of interest portrayed by one who is both a scholar and an artist. The more he knows, and the more trained his literary faculties, the better for the multitude of readers who have no time for foreign travels and are constrained to get their information at second hand. The million of us in this predicament have cause to thank men like Mr. Rideing, through whom we vicariously enjoy the delight of travel, and who not only divine what we would like to see, but who

enable us to see and understand it by combining rividness of photography with felicity of inter

gorgeous flower beds and gravel walks. It was

128 years ago. The old castle, of which little except the keep remains, was one of the links in the chain of fortresses which the first three Edwards crected to maintain their dominion over Wales." Like Ludlow Castle, it had been earlier a stronghold of the Saxon; "later the cavaliers and roundheads played shuttlecock with it, and then pulled it apart, if not feather by feather, stone by stone." The Dec is in sight, The feature of American civilization which the peninsula of Cheshire bounding the further out strikes Mr. Lecky, as it has struck most shore, "and, in the distance, the clear air is thickened by a brownish cloud," which is the European observers, is its one-sided character. It is a supremely great industrial civilization, smoke of Liverpool, where Mr. Gladstone was born. In the heart of Liverpool "stands the generating to the highest degree the qualities now dingy mansion of his birth, and about four miles to the northward, near the mouth of the Mersey, is the village of Scaforth, where he went to school with Arthur Pen-rhyn Stanley," subsequently the Dean of Westminster. Hawarden Park, it seems, though beautiful, is less specious than the parks to be seen on the estates of thousands of other Englishmen. As Mr. Rideing puts it, Hawarden Park "is proportioned to the sufficiency of its owner's other worldly possessions; enough, but not too much; humble, indeed, by the side of such estates as Eaton Hall and Chatsworth, the proprietors of which were once the administrative lieutenants of Glad stone, as they are still in all respects, except wealth, his inferior. The ground is rolling and well wooded, and the sound of brooks comes up from the glen to mingle with the rustle of beeches and oaks. It is a place that at once suggests a resemblance between itself and its owner. Over the glade the derricks and chimneys of neighboring collieries are visible, and this contiguity of sylvan repose with industrial activity symbolizes the unity of the academic and the practical, which is one of the charac

teristics of Mr. Gladstone's genius." We are told that the spirit which rules at Hawarden Castle " is the spirit of simplicity it-self; not ascetic, not indifferent to the good things of the world, but alien alike to peremony, and epicureanism. Time is held as a trust, to be accounted for minute by minute. A wilful, purposeless idler, no matter what his rank, would find himself aloof a d estranged as in few other places. Not the head of the house alone, but mother, sons, and daughters, following his example, find employment to fill the day from an early rising to an early bedtime. The extravagances of the London season and the supplementary splendors of the ordinary country house are shut out, and the days are ordered with as little estentation and as much quiet benevolence and scrupulousness as in an ideal country parsonage. We are cautioned, however, not to let the forecoing account of the spirit pervading life at Hawarden convey an impression of cheerless ess, or of an exclusion of natural interests of the worldly sort. You may hear, as you would expect to hear in this household, "some profound theology, and scan horizons of philosophy which you may never reach; you may hear more of the searchings of scholarship that universities teach, and be led beyond your depth in political speculations; but you will also hear of the newest novel and the latest play; of pictures, travels, inventions; of all things not frivolous that ripple through the conversation of the hour." Mr. Rideing goes on to mention that there is wine on the table at luncheon and at dinner, and that after dinner there is music, of which Mr. Gladstone is a great lover. As for cheerfulness, "Mr. Gladstone himself is full of gayety in his moments of relaxation, and faislifies the familiar portraits of him which represent him as being without the sense of humor. There are times when he has a boy's playfainess, and then his eyes dance

with mischievous glee." It is probable that Mr. Rideing possesses the only authentic account of Mr. Gladstone's outh which is at present accessible. We learn that some years ago the author of these papers prepared an article on the English statesman's school days, the proofs of which the latter was obliging enough to correct, though he assured Mr. Rideing that he had never done anything of the kind before. The article, however, was published before Mr. Gladstone's revision reached this country, and the changes made by him in the original now appear for the first time in the book before us. Some of these anges are well worth noting he original reads: "Mr. Gladstone belongs to a substantial, middle-class family." In the reised proofs this is altered to "an ancient family of southern Scotland, depressed the eighteenth century, when they appear in malting and other trades, and again ning to rise with Mr. Gladstone's grandfather. This is a curious illustration of the conserva-tive tendency which in old men reveals itself in unexpected ways. Another correction puts an end to the current story that Gladstone's capabilities were early detected by George Canning. The original text of Mr. Rideing's article ran as follows: "They had a country place at Scaforth, which was then outside of Liverpool and its smoke and noise, though it is now knitted to the town. The little boy who was destined to become famous used to ramble about these grounds with his father's friend, the great Mr. Canning, who was already he foremost statesman of England. Canning it was said, would sit by the hour at Scaforti meditating on the policy of the country. while the boy sat at his feet," In coofs revised by Mr. Gladstone, the whole of the foregoing passage is expunged, with this comment: "I taink this should disappear. Mr. Canning took very marked notice of an elder or of mine, but none whatever of me. Another paragraph of Mr. Rideing's article at tributing to him continuous industry and resolute purpose in early life, was qualified by Mr. ne as follows: "In his boyhood, however, though sometimes thoughtful and always impressible, he was averse from school work, and his education during the home period of his life made little progress." In the original it had truthfully been said of Eton that, in the early part of this century, it was governed in a loose way, and lazy and incapable boys passed through it with little to show for the years they spent there. Mr. Gladstone's marginal addiis: "From Eton, however, he drew his first inspiration, and became, if not a brilliant, yet a diligent student." It is also noted that "at Eton he had one special and highly prized advantage in forming a very close and intimate friendship with the foremost youth among his contemporaries in school. This was Arthur Henry Hallam, the eldest son of Henry Hallam, the distinguished historian, and the subject of Tennyson's wonderful poem. 'In Memoriam.'" passage of the original article referring to Mr. Gladstone as he was when he entered the House of Commons in 1834, the assertion was made that "he was a Conservative then, and was described by Macaulay as 'the hope of the stern and unbending Tories." Especially interesting is the addendum to this, made on the margin of the proof sheet; admitted by himself with respect to ecclesiastical questions; but, as to other matters, he conaiders it as untrue and contradicted by the tenor of his early speeches. His language is that he did not then understand the value of liberty for its own sake as a principle of human

action and as a necessary condition of all high

political excellence." We note, finally, that in

the original occurred this remark: "His early

political bias he has attributed in a great meas-

ure to his training at Oxford: 'I did not learn

there what I have learned since,' he has said

to set a due value on the imperishable and in-

liadstone's revision of the proof here, we read:

that "he also says that Oxford, the Oxford of

his day, taught him to value truth, and to follow

We hear with surprise that while in times of

it at all cost and hazard."

estimable privileges of human liberty." In Mr

political activity Mr. Gladstone used to have one or two secretaries, the only help be had at other seasons was given by his children. Mr. Ridbing tells us that "he never makes use of such laborsaving devices as stenography or the typewriter. His letters and his manuscripts This book, as we have said, derives its title ere written from beginning to end, regardless of from a short narrative of a recent visit to Halength, in his own hand. When surprise at this warden, the country seat which came to Mr. Gladstone through his wife, the daughter of Sir is expressed be explains that he is too fixed in his habits to adopt the new methods, and, moreover, Stephen Glynne. The present Hawarden Castle that the intervention of such a mechanical aid as is, we are told, "a gray, turreted, machicolated mansion separated from the park by fences and hedges, and within these it is surrounded by typewriting always increases the distance beween the correspondents." It seems that, for his briefer communications, he uses post cards, built by an accestor of Mrs. Gladstone about and so much does he appreciate their conven ience that when he went into mourning for his brother he did not discontinue using them, but had a supply printed with a mourning border.

> We are almost astamed to say that we ran over the forty pages afforted to "quaint old Yar-

> mouth" with an eager curiosity to see whether

the writer would tell us anything about the Yarmouth bloater. We were not disappointed.

nor, indeed, could so careful an observer over-look the fact that the herring is the mainstay of the town's prosperity; it was, indeed the abundance of this toothsome fish that attracted the early settlers to its sands. The North Sea is the principal home of the herring. and the shoals come and go from shore to deep water and back again, influenced by tempera ture, spawning and the location of their food. In the north of Scotland they are most abundant by the 1st of August, while, in the vicinity of Yarmouth, the principal fishing does not begin until September. No herrings are caught in January. Toward the end of February the fishermen begin to catch spring herrings and continue to do so until June. In June and July the midsummer herrings are caught; but little, however, is done in August or until the opening of the autumn or home fishing, which lasts from September until about Christmas. We are told that Yarmouth and the adjacent town of Lowestoft catch no fewer than 450,000,000 herefog a year; and the gross yearly produce of the North Sea and east Atlantic fisheries is said by an authority on the subject to be not less than 2,400,000,000, or two herrings for every man, woman, and child in the world. The glory of Yarmonth is its bloater, but Mr. Rideing assures us that the highest qualities of this edible are so fleeting that only those who live in or near the town can know how thoroughly the reputation of the smoked fish is deserved. "Take one of the primest of these herrings," he says, "spit it and smoke it from eighteen to twenty-four hours; thus is the common herring transmuted into the delicate and incomparable bloater. The arsenal-like, redbrick buildings seen in many parts of the town are used for this purpose. The choicest of the herrings, technically 'bloster stuff,' are selected, and threaded through the gills on sticks or spits about a yard long, and placed in racks one above the other to a height of thirty feet or more in a building called the smokehouse," where thousands of the fish hang like stalactites under the high roof. When the racks are filled, "a log of oak is lighted and left to smoulder, and in about eighteen hours the herrings have absorbed a certain proportion of the smoke, and become perfect bloaters with an unmatched delicacy of flavor. They have so little salt in them and are so finely cured that they are too perishable to be sent my distance, and thus it is that, in this condition, the bloater is only known to those who are in or near Yarmouth. Smoked for a longer period and salted. they are prepared for the foreign market, and with an exposure of twelve or thirteen days to

NOTES ON SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY.

paying quantities, in the Annie C. mine, at Swiftn. te . Col., a small camp at the foot of Buffale Peak, and the Denver Republican regards the disovery as one of interest in that it makes the mine in question the first one in Colorado to show that metal to any valuable amount, and the third in the United States; but traces of the metal have been dis swered in Colorado ores prior to this, while in Oregon and Washington it appeared in appreciable quantity in two instances. At a depth of 143 feet the Annie C. managers claim to have uncovered an eight-foot vein, the ore taken from it containing platinum, gold, iron, and sulphur, but no copper, lead, or zinc; and the analytical tests made on the two solld feet of sulphides in the foot wall are said o have given as many as three ounces of platinum to every eight ounces of gold.

the fumes of the oak, produce the vulgar red

herring."

In reply to certain criticisms made on the poor quality of much of the paper now used by publishers of books, Mr. George H. Putnam gives as a resson for that fact-a reason which he admits must seem to many to be well-nigh incredible—the de-crease of religious fanaticism in the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, Myriads of pilgrims used every one of them being clothed in flowing gar ments of finest white linen. Out of their number hundreds and thousands would die by the wayside, rendering it at one time a most profitable business to strip these limn garments from the bodies and send them to the large paper factories of Europe, It was from this source, Mr. Putnam says, that the best paper was obtained, but they no longer in such large numbers undertake those pilgrimages, therefore not so may die by the wayside, and tence the nability to furnish so high a quality of paper.

The bleaching of linen is said to be now accomtshed in France largely by the use of waterglass. cently it was stated to the Paris Academy of Setes that, in order to insure the complete bleachof the fabric, it is customary to increase the austicity of the lye and to prolong the time of bo ing, with the result that the material is injured, though its color is improved. Experts declare that the production of yellowish or brownish patches on the linen, usually attributed to impurities in the chemicals used, is due—chiefy to the presence in water of calcium and magnesium saits, which are pre-ipitated on the fabric and act as mordants, fixing the yellowish color of the lye. But this injurious effect can be prevented by adding to the water mixture of so lium carbonate and soluble glass the result being to precipitate calcium and magnestam silicates in a flocculent form which set-tics rapidly, does not adhere to the fabric, and beomes granular and pulversient on bolling; thus kall is necessary for the treatment.

One of the most remarkable scientific statements of its kind appears in a recent number of Popul Astronomy concerning F. 70 Ophinchi, an easily visible equatorial star, hitherto supposed to consist of two components, of the fourth and sixth magne tules respectively, the apparent orbit heing a nar-ow ellipse of such size that the two stars can al-most always be readily separated by small tele-scopes. Astronomers have been constantly watch-ing this system, so that more observations of 13 have been recorded than of any other double star in the northern heavens, while it has also thus far had more orbits computed than any other, the irregniarity of motion being such as to lead to the con-clusion that the law of gravity a a not hold good in that system. Coming down to the recent and most careful investigations by Prof. See of the University of Chicago, there is shown a regular irlation through a series of years the orbit, which can only be explained by the exist-ence of a dark body in the system; the period of this dark body appears to be about thirty-six years, the dimensions of the large orbit being, probably, midway between those of Neptun, and Uranus, the con net mass of the three bodies being about one and six-tenths that of our sun.

An ingentous arrangement is in use for supplying water from the Charles Siver to the Squire Packing and Provision Company's great established ambridge, Mass. The pump works day after day with no one going near it, the water being used for the condensers for the ice and refrigerating ma-chinery and it is pumped over 1,000 feet to the condensers. A steam pipe leads from the main boller roun, a four luch, underground, for this distance, the pump building, a lubricator, feeding oil into the tilpe as it leaves the botler room, and valves rol the steam pressure. When it is destred to start the pump, steam is turned into the steam main and the lubricator started, and in less than a the the pump, 1,000 or more feet away, is at it. The s'eam pipe is laid below the frost line, wooden trench in sewer pipe, and the pipe is thought with one and a half-inch pipe covering. The less in pressure is very slight, no trouble from contensed water is experienced, and the intricator feeds very much as it would is directly at the pump; gauges in the engine room show the water pressure, and whether the pump is at work or met